

Message Text

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E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PGOV, PDIP, CI, US
SUBJECT: EVALUATION REPORT: HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

REFS: (A) STATE 140421, (B) STATE 141243

1. HERewith SUBJECT REPORT REFLECTING VIEWS OF COUNTRY TEAM
WITH EXCEPTION OF DEFENSE ATTACHES' AND MILGP. OFFICE. ALTERNATIVE
DAO/MILGP ASSESSMENT IS APPENDED.

QUOTE:

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THE REQUIREMENT FOR STILL ANOTHER
HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT (REF A) STIMULATED THIS COUNTRY
TEAM'S STRONG AND VARIED VIEWS. THREE SPECIAL FACTORS EMERGE.
FIRST, EMBASSY SANTIAGO STRUGGLED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF PROMOTING
HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE LONG BEFORE THE SUBJECT BECAME THE CENTERPIECE

OF US FOREIGN POLICY. IN SPITE OF SECRETARIAL-LEVEL ADMONITIONS
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TO "KNOCK OFF THE POLITICAL SCIENCE LECTURES," OUR POLICY PAPERS
(CASP'S IN 1974, '75 AND '76 AND PARM
IN 1977) TRACE A DIFFICULT
HISTORY OF POLICY EVOLUTION. OUR MARCH 1977 PARM SUBMISSION (SANTIAGO

2567), OUR ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT (SANTIAGO 2625), AND MANY
SPOT REPORTS CAUSE A SENSE OF "DEJA VU" AS WE AGAIN SUMMARIZE

PREVIOUS REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. SECOND, BECAUSE OF OUR LONG HISTORY IN DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS HERE, THE USG IS ALREADY IN THE MIDDLE OF AN ACTION PLAN BASED ON PREVIOUS EMBASSY RECOMMENDATIONS. SECRETARIES VANCE AND CHRISTOPHER HAVE NOW ENGAGED GOC FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL AND AMBASSADOR CAUAS IN A DIALOGUE DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE ABANDONMENT OF THE JUNTA'S EMERGENCY POWERS, REINSTITUTION OF DUE PROCESS AND SEVERE CURTAILMENT OF THE EXISTING INTELLIGENCE/SECURITY SERVICES. A SIMILAR DIALOGUE IS UNDERWAY IN SANTIAGO. OUR MID-TERM GOALS ARE ALREADY ESTABLISHED AND EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THEM IN PROGRESS. FINALLY, IT OFTEN APPEARS THAT FOR SOME, REACTIONS TO CHILE HAVE BECOME SO ENCUMBERED BY EMOTION THAT RATIONAL POLICIES ARE IMPOSSIBLE. FOR THEM, CHILE HAS BECOME SUCH A SYMBOL THAT IT APPEARS

NO AMOUNT OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS WILL ELICIT THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE AND LIMITED REWARDS REFERRED TO IN REF B. IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE. MORE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. OUR RECOMMENDATION CONTINUES TO BE THAT THE USG SHOULD ENGAGE IN QUID PRO QUO NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OUTLINED ABOVE. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

I. CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

A. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON: THE FIRST HALF OF 1977 DEMONSTRATED A DRAMATICALLY SIGNIFICANT QUANTITATIVE IMPROVEMENT WHEN COMPARED WITH THE SITUATION DURING THE SAME PERIOD A YEAR AGO AND EVEN THE LAST HALF OF 1976. MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCES,

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TORTURE AND DETENTIONS DECLINED MARKEDLY. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, SECURITY

FORCES EXCESSES DURING LATE APRIL-EARLY MAY 1977, ILLUSTRATING ANEW THE IMPORTANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN DETERRING FUTURE ABUSE.

A. TORTURE: INCREASINGLY RARE DURING 1976, VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT DURING FIRST QUARTER '77. ACCORDING TO RELIABLE REPORTS, THER WERE PERHAPS A DOZEN CASES DURING THE MAY EXCESSES, BUT NO REPORTS SINCE.

2. CRUEL, UNUSUAL OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENT: POLITICALLY-RELATED DISAPPEARANCE (WHICH ALSO INVOLVES ARBITRARY DETENTION, LACK OF FAIR TRIAL AND, PROBABLY, TORTURE) BEST FITS UNDER THIS RUBRIC BECAUSE OF ITS EFFECT ON RELATIVES AS WELL AS VICTIMS. ONLY TWO CLEAR CASES DURING 1977, WITH ONE OTHER POSSIBLE (VIS-A-VIS, WELL OVER 160 DURING 1976 AND A CUMULATIVE TOTAL OF PERHAPS 800 EXCLUDING COUP VICTIMS. WE ASSUME THAT WHILE A FEW MAY BE UNDERGROUND IN CHILE OR ABROAD, THE GREAT MAJORITY ARE NOW DEAD.)

3. ARBITRARY ARREST AND DETENTION: PERSONS HELD IN DETENTION IN CHILE FOR ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL REASONS DROPPED PRECIPITIOUSLY FROM MORE THAN 4,000 (NOVEMBER '75) TO FEWER THAN 400 (EARLY '77), MOST OF THEM CONVICTED OR STANDING TRIAL FOR GUN CONTRAL VIOLATIONS.

JORGE MONTES, THE LAST PERSON OFFICIALLY HELD IN PREVENTIVE DETENTION (I.E. WITHOUT CHARGES) WAS RELEASED JUNE 18. UNDER EXISTING EMERGENCY POWERS, DETENTION WITHOUT JUDICIAL WRIT IS LEGAL. SO ALSO IS PROLONGED (10 DAY) DETENTION INCOMMUNICADO. SECURITY FORCES NONTHELESS PLAY FAST AND LOOSE EVEN WITH THESE PERMISSIVE RULES. STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE LAW APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE EXCEPTION, BUT PERFORMANCE GENERALLY IMPROVED WHEN COMPARED WITH EARLIER PERIODS. SOME 40 PERSONS WERE BELIEVED DETAINED IN THE APRIL/MAY SPATE; VIRTUALLY ALL HAVE NOW BEEN FREED. BRIEF, UNRECORDED DETENTIONS (FOR LESS THAN ONE DAY) REPORTEDLY WERE COMMON DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE YEAR. ALTHOUGH THE ABSOLUTE NUMBER IS NOT KNOWN, THEY STILL OCCUR.

4. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL: THIS RIGHT ONLY NOW IS BEGINNING TO HAVE RELEVANCE. FOR THREE YEARS FOLLOWING THE COUP, SECRET

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THE CIVILIAN JUDICIARY VIRTUALLY

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ABDICATED RESPONSIBILITY IN POLITICAL/SECURITY CASES. SINCE EARLY 1977 THE COURTS HAVE BECOME MORE ASSERTIVE. WORKING WITHIN THE

CONSTITUTIONAL PARAMETERS SET (AND JUGGLED) BY THE JUNTA, THEY HAVE YET, HOWEVER, TO ESTABLISH THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IN TRULY PROTECTING THE CITIZENRY'S RIGHTS. COURTS MARTIAL UNDER "TIME OF WAR CONDITIONS" MAY BE HELD BY MILITARY FIAT. THE PORCEDURE NOW IS ONLY RARELY APPLIED TO CIVILIANS. ALTHOUGH EVIDENCIARY AND OTHER COURTROOM SAFEGUARDS ARE WEAKER THAN THOSE OF CIVILIAN COURTS, THE MORE COMMON COURTS MARTIAL UNDER "TIME OF PEACE" RULES TECHNICALLY ALLOW FOR APPEAL TO THE CIVIAN SUPREME COURT SYSTEM. THE LOCAL BAR ASSOCIATION AND MINISTRY OF JUSTICE HAVE SUPPORTED THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF VIRTUAL PLENARY AUTHORITY IN THE HANDS OF THE JUNTA.

5. INVASION OF THE HOME: OFTEN ABUSED. SUCH VILATIONS ARE SO FAR DONW THE LIST OF PRIORITIES THAT WHAT APPEAR GOC-ENDORSED BREAK-INS AT LEADING CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS' HOMES AND OFFICES ARE RECORDED AS "HARASSMENT." USE OF THE "MOUSE TRAP" (STAKEOUTS IN HOMES TO HAB CALLERS) CONTINUES, BUT LESS FREQUENTLY THAN
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BEFORE.

B. CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES: RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS HAS DETERIORATED DURING THE PAST YEAR. ELECTIONS ARE VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN; ALL POLITICAL PARTIES ARE BANNED, AND PRIOR CENSORSHIP IS AUTHORIZED.

1. FREEDOM OF THOUGH (EXPRESSION), RELIGIOUS FREEDOM: THERE IS COMPLETE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN CHILE. ALONG THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE ROLES OF CHURCH AND STATE, HOWEVER, THERE IS TENSION. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY PROMINENT AS A DISSIDENT VOICE IN THE SOCIETY AND CONCOMITANTLY HAS PURSUED SECULAR (E.E. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONCERNS WITH GREATER VIGOR. BOTH CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT HAVE SOUGHT TO AVOID DIRECT CONFRONTATION AND PRESIDENT PINOCHET DISPLAYED ADMIRABLE DISCRETION IN IMMEDIATELY CANNING AN ABRASIVE MINISTER OF JUSTINCE WHO INTEMPERATELY ATTACKED THE CLERGY FOR PRODUCING A CRITIQUE OF GOC POLITICAL, ECONIC AND SOCIAL POLICY.

THE MEDIA PRACTICES SELF-CENSORSHIP; PRIOR CENSORSHIP IS AUTHORIZED UNDER EMERGENCY POWERS, BUT RARELY EXERCISED. INTERNATIONAL WIRE SERVICE NEWS IS CARRIED FREELY AND FULLY IN ALL LOCAL MEDIA. PRIOR APPROVAL TO PUBLISH NEW NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES IS REQUIRED. THIS PROCEDURE, AS IN THE CASE OF NTE NEW PRO-CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT NEWSMAGAZINE, "HOW," CAN BE DELIBERATELY DRAGGED OUT. TOLERATED MEDIA ARE GIVEN SURPRISING LATITUDE AND ARE BEGINNING TO TOUCH UPON SENSITIVE POLITICAL ISSUES. CERTAIN, BUT NOT ALL, DISSENTING OUTLETS HAVE BEEN CLOSED (E.G. RADIO BALMACEDA). NO PURGES OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS HAVE OCCURRED DURING THE LAST YEAR. THE PRESENCE OF GOVERNMENT INFORMERS AMONG STUDENTS UNDOUBTEDLY INHIBITS DISCUSSIONS. GUEST SPEAKERS AND FULBRIGHT PROFESSORS REPORT NO EVIDENCE OF PRESSURE ABOUT WHAT OR HOW THEY TEACH.

CHILE'S NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ACTS PROVIDE FOR COMPLETE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION EXCEPT FOR THOSE IDEAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE BASIC

TENETS OF THE STATE, TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGIES, OR VIEWS IN CONFLICT

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WITH "BASIC CHILEANISM" OR THE FAMILY.

2. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN, TO, AND FROM CHILE: CHILEANS AND FOREIGNERS MOVE FREELY WITHIN THE COUNTRY. CHECKPOINTS DOTTED AROUND THE COUNTRY ARE USED FOR SURPRISE INSPECTIONS -- OFTEN AS NOT FOR PURPOSES OF AUTOMOTIVE SAFETY, BUT WITH AN OBVIOUS SECURITY POTENTIAL. IN FRONTIER AREAS, WHERE FOR YEARS SPECIAL CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION PRACTICES HAVE OBTAINED, IDENTITY DOCUMENTS ARE THOROUGHLY CHECKED. TOURISM IS INCREASINGLY ENCOURAGED, WITH DIMINISHING FORMALITIES, BUT RESIDENTS OF CHILE MUST BOOK INTERNATIONAL RESERVATIONS AT LEAST 48 HOURS AHEAD OF TIME TO PERMIT PRE-DEPARTURE POLICE CHECKS.

THE GOC HAS COMMUTED PRISONS SENTENCES OF HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE INTO EXILE: THE PRINCIPAL AND HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO LEAVE CHILE. HUNDREDS OF OTHERS, DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE, WERE RELEASED INTO EXILE. EMIGRATION FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS HAS BEEN HEAVY; THE GOC HAS TOLERATED IT IN MOST CASES. IT HAS AN ENVIABLE RECORD OF EXTENDING SAFECONDUCTS TO ASYLEES IN LOCAL DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS. WE KNOW OF ONLY ONE CASE IN WHICH A SAFECONDUCT HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY DENIED. THE GOC HAS STRIPPED NATIONALITY FROM EIGHT PEOPLE LIVING IN EXILE, LEAVING THEM STATELESS. IT HAS CEASED (AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS) LIMITING THE VALIDITY OF PASSPORTS ISSUED TO CERTAIN EXILES.

RETURN TO CHILE BY THOSE WHO LEFT THE COUNTRY IRREGULARLY (CLANDESTINELY, THROUGH SAFECONDUCTS AS ASYLEES, OR VARIOUS FORMS OF EXPULSION) IS REGULATED BY A DECREE LAW WHICH GRANTS THE GOC DISCRETION IN DECIDING UPON INDIVIDUAL PETITIONS SUBMITTED BY INTENDING RETURNING CITIZENS BY WHICH THEY FORESWEAR EVER ENGAGING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT. SO FAR PERHAPS 150 SUCH PETITIONS HAVE BEEN ENTERTAINED; 50 DECIDED FAVORABLY.

3. DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES ASSURING THE FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS: THE BAN ON PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS COMPLETE. THE BAN ON ELECTIONS OF ANY KIND -- POLITICAL, UNION, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION, AND NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS -- CONTINUES. EVEN LOCAL CHURCHES AND ROTARY CLUBS THEORETICALLY (AND

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IN PRACTICE) MUST SEEK EXCEPTIONS TO HOLD ELECTIONS FOR OFFICERS. ALL GOC OFFICIALS ARE APPOINTED. CERTAIN FUNCTIONAL GROUPS (LABOR, YOUTH, WOMEN, GUILDS, BUSINESS) ARE REPRESENTED ON THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF STATE, WHICH IS SADLY UNDER

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UTILIZED. IT HAS LITTLE INFLUENCE ON IMPORTANT DECISIONS.
PRESIDENT PINOCHET TRAVELS WIDELY AND ENTERTAINS REQUESTS FROM
THE PEOPLE DURING THESE TRIPS -- HARDLY A SUBSTITUTE FOR MORE
FORMAL REPRESENTATION.

A CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE IS WORKING SLOWLY TO DRAFT
RULES FOR THE CURRENT INTERREGNUM AND EVENTUALLY A NEW
CONSTITUTION. POPULAR PARTICIPATION IS PROMISED BUT NO TIMETABLE
HAS APPEARED.

C. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES FULFILLING FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH
CARE AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE POOR: THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT
HAS SET THE MEETING OF THESE NEEDS AS AN ULTIMATE PRIORITY CONCERN.
ITS MORE IMMEDIATE CONCERN IS THE REORGANIZATION OF AN ECONOMY
WHICH IT REGARDS AS HEADED FOR OVER 30 YEARS IN ENTIRELY THE
WRONG DIRECTION. THE GOC ATTRIBUTES CHILEAN POVERTY LARGELY TO
PAST POLICIES WHICH ACCOUNTED FOR AN ABYSMALLY LOW ANNUAL GROWTH
RATE OF 2.6 PERCENT OVER THE LAST SIXTEEN YEARS.

IN ADDITION, TO BASIC STRUCTURAL FAULTS, THE MILITARY
REGIME IN 1973 INHERITED THE WIDESPREAD DECAPITALIZATION OF THE
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ALLENDE YEARS, INFLATION AND INTERNATIONAL DEBT PAYMENTS AMOUNTING TO 800 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. TO ADD TO THESE, IN LATE 1974 THE PRICE OF COPPER, CHILE'S PRINCIPAL EXPORT, DROPPED SHARPLY WHILE FUEL PRICES SOARED.

THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED AS ITS FIRST PRIORITY THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMY, WITH, HOWEVER, VERY SERIOUS SOCIAL COSTS. GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES WERE CUT IN HALF LARGELY BY REMOVING STATE OWNED COMPANIES FROM THE NATIONAL ACCOUNTS AND TARIFFS WERE DRASTICALLY REDUCED. COUPLED WITH GENERAL RECESSION, THESE PUSHED URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT TO A RECORDED HIGH OF 20 PERCENT, A FIGURE WHICH DOES NOT MEASURE PERVASIVE UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN MANY SECTORS. THE LOT OF THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND LOWER CLASSED ESPECIALLY HAS BEEN HARD, NOR HAS THE GOVERNMENT -- ENJOYING CONSERVATIVE SUPPORT AND ANXIOUS TO RETAIN AND ENCOURAGE ITS SCARCE ENTREPRENEURIAL ELEMENT -- SPREAD THE BURDEN OF SACRIFICE AS EVENLY AS MANY CRITICS WOULD RECOMMEND.

WHETHER CURRENT POLICIES WILL, IN FACT, BRING CHILE'S POORER CLASSES TO A HIGHER LEVEL THAN THEY WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED UNDER EARLIER STRATEGIES AND PROTECTIONIST POLICIES IS STILL TO BE ESTABLISHED. ALL THE RETURNS ARE NOT IN. NEVERTHELESS, INFLATION HAS BEEN CUT FROM OVER 1000 PERCENT TO LESS THAN 100 PERCENT A YEAR AND RECORDED UNEMPLOYMENT TO 14 PERCENT, WHILE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION HAS RECENTLY RISEN BY 15 PERCENT SINCE JANUARY 1977, AND IN APRIL WAS 105 PERCENT OF 1969. NON-MINERAL EXPORTS ARE BOOMING.

MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT IS DEVOTING NEARLY 52 PERCENT OF ITS DISCRETIONARY BUDGET (E.E. EXCLUDING INTERNATIONAL DEBT PAYMENTS) TO SOCIAL PROGRAMS. 7.2 PERCENT TO HEALTH, 7.5 PERCENT TO WELFARE PAYMENTS, 4.3 PERCENT TO HOUSING, 12.6 PERCENT TO SOCIAL SECURITY, 19.7 PERCENT TO EDUCATION (INCLUDING SCHOOL LUNCHES), AND 2.7 PERCENT TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. BY CONTRAST, RECORDED MILITARY EXPENDITURES ARE 23.8 PERCENT.

1. GOC POLICIES TO ASSIST THE POOR:

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A. FOOD: THERE IS AN UNDERLYING GOC ASSUMPTION THAT RATIONALIZING LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRICE STRUCTURE WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO MORE FOOD PRODUCTION AND THE POOR WILL BENEFIT. FURTHERMORE, THE GOC INHERITED AN IMMENSE NUTRITIONAL FEEDING PROGRAM. FREE MILK ALONE COST THE GOC 35 MILLION DOLLARS UNDER ALLENDE; THE GOC HAS NOW EXPANDED THIS PROGRAM BY APPROXIMATELY 30 PERCENT AND LAST YEAR DISTRIBUTED 30 MILLION KILOS OF POWDERED MILK. THE GOC ALSO IS DEVELOPING NEW NUTRITION PROGRAMS WITH A SHARPER FOCUS ON THE MALNOURISHED. THIS SHOWS PROMISE OF MAKING MAJOR INROADS ON THE PROBLEM DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. OVERALL, THE GOC NOW DISTRIBUTES ABOUT 90 MILLION DOLLARS IN COMMODITIES WHILE PROGRAM, RESEARCH AND RELATED COSTS TOTAL ANOTHER 90 MILLION DOLLARS.

B. HOUSING: THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST SEVERELY BLIGHTED. GOC POLICIES DESIGNED TO SPUR PUBLIC HOUSING ARE

NOW BEGINNING TO TAKE HOLD, SUPPORTED BY NEARLY 55 MILLION DOLLARS OF CAPITAL INFLOWS GUARANTEED BY USAID HIG'S LOWER INCOME HOUSING COOPERATIVE. THE FOLLOWING TABLE COMPARES PUBLIC HOUSING STARTS AND COMPLETIONS SINCE 1972. THE DATA ARE SUBJECT TO VARYING INTERPRETATION.

PUBLIC HOUSING IN CHILE (1972-1976)
(NOT INCLUDING HIG-BACKED HOUSING)

YEAR	STARTS	COMPLETIONS
1972	20,000	16,000
1973	21,000	27,000
1974	3,200	29,000
1975	3,700	41,000
1976	17,500	16,000
1977 ESTIMATED	29,000	N/A

SOURCE: ODEPLAN

C. EDUCATION: THE GOC PLAN IS TO DIVERT RESOURCES FROM OVER-EXPANDED, VIRTUALLY FREE UNIVERSITIES TO PRIMARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION BY REQUIRING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR EDUCATION ACCORDING TO ABILITY TO PAY. IN 1974 APPROXIMATELY 27 PERCENT OF THE EDUCATION BUDGET WENT TO PRIMARY EDUCATION AND 43 PERCENT TO THE UNIVERSITIES. IN 1976 FIGURES WERE 38.5 AND

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33 PERCENT, RESPECTIVELY. THE POOR SHOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARIES OF THIS SHIFT IN RESOURCES.

D. MEASURES DIRECTLY BENEFITTING WORKERS: ALTHOUGH LABOR HAS NO EFFECTIVE RIGHTS TO ORGANIZE, THE GOC HAS DECREED PERIODIC ACROSS-THE-BOARD WAGE INCREASES EQUIVALENT TO COST OF LIVING INCREASES IN THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING PERIOD. DURING TIMES OF HYPERINFLATION THE RESULT WAS AN EROSION OF REAL WAGES, SINCE THE READJUSTMENTSWERE

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NOT RETROACTIVE. NOW, HOWEVER, AS INFLATION REACHES MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS AND CONTINUES TO DECLINE (FIVE PERCENT PER MONTH AND DROPPING), WORKERS SHOULD SEE A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN REAL WAGES IF READJUSTMENTS CONTINUE TO BE MADE AT REASONABLE INTERVALS.

THE GOC'S MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM AIMS DIRECTLY AT AMELIORATING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM, STARTED IN MARCH 1975 IT REACHED A PEAK OF 230,000 PERSONS IN NOVEMBER 1976. WORKERS RECEIVE APPROXIMATELY 35 DOLLARS PER MONTHS (VIS-A-VIS THE MINIMUM WAGE OF 58 DOLLARS AND MEDIAN WAGE OF 158 DOLLARS PER MONTH); SOME RECEIVE SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD. COSTS TO THE GOC FOR THIS PROGRAM RUN ABOUT 80 MILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR.

IN ADDITION THE GOC HAS ANNOUNCED NEW-HRE INCENTIVES FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND HAS INCREASED WORKER TRAINING PROGRAMS, BUT THE IMPACT DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE ALTERED THE PICTURE.

2. SIGNIFICANT CORRUPTION AFFECTING THE POOR. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT OFFICIALLY CONDONED CORRUPTION.

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D. GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN AFFAIRS DESCRIBED ABOVE:
PRESIDENT PINOCHET HAS AT LEAST CONDONED THE GENERAL ACTION PLANS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, PARTICULARLY DINA -- WHICH REPORTS DIRECTLY

TO HIM. CREDIT FOR THE IMPROVEMENT DURING 1977 SHOULD BE GIVEN THE PRESIDENT. NO OTHER OFFICIAL HAS THE AUTHORITY TO INSIST UPON THE DRAMATIC CURTAILMENT OF ACTIVITY. HE IS ALSO, REGRETTABLY, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAY EXCESSES, EVEN IF HE DID NOT AUTHORIZE SPECIFIC ABUSES. BUT HE QUICKLY REINED IN DINA. IT IS A POSITIVE SIGN OF THE TIMES THAT DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MEDIA TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A CHANGED ENVIRONMENT TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE GOC. SIMILARLY POSITIVE, FOR THE FIRST TIME WE HAVE A PATTERN OF EVIDENCE THAT A NUMBER OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICIALS ARE SUFFICIENTLY DISTRESSED BY CHILE'S IMAGE REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES TO BEGIN GNAWING AWAY AT DINA'S OMNIPOTENCE. THE GOC'S AGILE AND FREQUENTLY SOPHISTICATED DEFENSE IS WELL KNOWN THROUGH REPORTS AIRED IN

INTERNATIONAL FORA.

PRESIDENT PINOCHET BEST SUMMARIZED THE GOC'S PHILOSOPHY
ON HUMAN RIGHTS DURING HIS SEPTEMBER 1976 SPEECH:

"....WHILE (HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS) VOCIFEROUSLY DEFEND
A FEW PEOPLE WHO PLAY POLITICS, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
CARRIES ON HIS SHOULDERS THE HEAVY OBLIGATION OF PROTECTING
THE PEACE AND TRANQUILITY OF TEN MILLION CHILEANS, WHOSE NAMES

HE DOES NOT KNOW BUT WHOSE FACES REMIND HIM OF HIS SUPREME
MISSION TO PREVENT THE COUNTRY FROM BEING DRAWN ONCE MORE
INTO DIVISIVENESS, CONFRONTATION OR CHAS. WITH DEEP CONVICTION
I ASK THE NATION: WHO REALLY IS THE DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS?"

E. INDEPEND INVESTIGATIONS: THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT
HAS SET INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENT IN TERMS OF THE RANGE AND NATURE
OF THE ON-SITE INVESTIGATIONS IT HAS AUTHORIZED: THE INTERNATIONAL
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COMMISSION OF JURISTS, ILO GROUPS, THE INTERAMERICAN HUMAN

RIGHTS COMMISSION, THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, AND NUMEROUS
SMALLER GROUPS HAVE COME TO CHILE. SANTIAGO SERVED AS HOST TO THE
OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1976. RED CROSS PRESIDENT HAYES PUBLICLY
HAS DESCRIBED THE GOC AS THE MOST COOPERATIVE OF LATIN
GOVERNMENTS IN PREMITTING ACCESS TO DETENTION CAMPS AND PRISONS
AND IN RESPONSIVENESS TO RED CROSS SUGGESTIONS. THE GOC CONTINUES
ITS DESULTORY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNHRC TO SET MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
GUIDELINES FOR A VISIT BY THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP -- ALTHOUGH
THE GOOD WILL OF BOTH PARTIES IS OPEN TO QUESTION SINCE THE EVENTS
OF JULY 1975.

II. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. THE EMBASSY STICKS WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS SET FORTH IN
ITS CURRENT PARM (SANTIAGO 2567). OUR OBJECTIVES ARE DESIGNED
TO BRING ABOUT INSZITUTIONAL CHANGES IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO MAKE
RECURRENCE OF PAST PRACTICE MUCH MORE UNLIKELY. A DIALOGUE WITH
THE GOC ON THE QUESTIONS OF DUE PROCESS, ABANDONMENT OF
EMERGENCY POWERS AND CURTAILMENT OF SECURITY SERVICES AND
DISSOLUTION OF DINA HAS BEGUN. OUR PARM AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
PRESENT AN ACTION PLAN ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED.⁵ WE WILL NOT
REPEAT IT HERE. IT DEALS, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, WITH RESPECT FOR
THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON. PRESUMABLY, AS THE LIKELIHOOD OF
DEATH, TORTURE OR DETENTION DIMISH, INTERNAL CHILEAN MECHANISM
WILL COME INTO PLAY WORKING TOWARD ADVANCES IN THE REMAINING
CATEGORIES.

OUR PARM AND OTHER POLICY REPORTS ALSO DISCUSS THE PROBABLE
REACTIONS WITHIN CHILE SHOULD THE RECOMMENDATIONS BE FOLLOWED,
AND POINT UP THE RISKS TO OTHER US INTERESTS HERE. THE IMPLICATIONS
FOR CHILEAN FOREIGN POLICY OF STEPPED UP EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
BY THE USG WAS ADDRESSED IN SANTIAGO A-51.

UNQUOTE

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 CU-02 EB-07 COME-00
AGRE-00 OMB-01 FEA-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 /083 W
-----041012 021441Z /42

R 012144Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5491
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

S E C R E T SECTION 5 OF 5 SANTIAGO 5448

2. HERewith SEPARATE ASSESSEMENT BY DEFENSE ATTACHE OFFICE.
QUOTE:

THE PROPOSAL AS PRESENTED FAILS TO PROVIDE AN ADEQUATELY
BALANCED VIEW, NOR DOES IT PRESENT A PROPER APPRECIATION OF THE
STRIDES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TOWARDS OUR DEFINITION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS.

THIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE THAN ANY IN
LIVING MEMORY IN ACTUALLY GETTING THINGS DONE AND REACHING DOWN
TO IMPROVE THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. THE OBVIOUS FAILURES OF THE
ALLENDE REGIME WILL NOT BE DISCUSSED HERE. THE CURRENT MILITARY
GOVERNMENT AND THE UNIFORMED SERVICES ARE INTERESTED IN THE LITTLE
MAN AND ARE DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT. THE MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT,
LOW COST HOUSING PROGRAMS AND MANY OTHERS BEAR THIS OUT. THESE
POSITIVE ASPECTS ARE TOO FREQUENTLY IGNORED OR OVERLOOKED.

THE LARGE MAJORITY OF CHILEANS AND THE NEWS MEDIA (TO
INCLUDE PRESTIGIOUS "EL MERCURIO") SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT.
ONLY A VOCIFEROUS MINORITY, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY INCLUDES THOSE
USUALLY HEARD BY THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA AND SOME U.S. GOVERNMENT
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OFFICIALS, ARE AGAINST IT. MANY SENIOR U.S. GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL

AND THEIR WIVES WHO HAVE WIDE CONTACTS WITHIN THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY HAVE SPENT MANY MONTHS OR YEARS HERE AND HAVE RECEIVED NO FIRST HAND EVIDENCE OF TORTURE. THIS IS NOT TO CONDONE IT, OR TO SAY THAT IT DID NOT OR DOES NOT EXIST, BUT CONFIRMED CASES ARE IN FACT FEW.

NO VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THIS GOVERNMENT EXISTS; IT THEREFORE BEHOOVES US TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO WORK WITH IT IN PURSUIT OF OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES.

THE PROPOSAL TOUCHES ON THE NEED FOR QUID PRO QUO, BUT DOES NOT PURSUE THE THEME. OUR POLICY SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO CARRY OUT A POSITIVE RESPONSE RATHER THAN BEING MIRED IN BUREAUCRATIC QUAGMIRE. AFTER ALL, WE EXAMINE THIS GOVERNMENT WITH A MICROSCOPE, SEEKING AND HIGHLIGHTING EVERY IMPERFECTION WHILE IGNORING THE FACT THAT THE GREAT MASS OF THE CHILAN PEOPLE ENDORSED THE ACTIONS OF 11 SEPTEMBER 1973. WE SHOULD SEEK CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT NOW IN POWER. HUMAN RIGHTS IS A CONSIDERATION WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED, BUT WE DO NOT APPEAR TO BE VISIONARY ENOUGH TO SEE THE TOTAL PICTURE; WE FOCUS ONLY UPON THE RELATIVELY FEW VIOLATION CASES WHICH OCCUR AND CONTINUE TO HOUND THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT PAST EVENTS WHILE SHRUGGING OFF DEMONSTRATED IMPROVEMENTS. WE HAVE FREQUENTLY REJECTED OUT OF HAND GOVERNMENT EXPLANATIONS AND DO NOT ACCEPT ANY EVIDENCE OF A COMMUNIST HAND IN MATTERS WHICH SULLY THE GOVERNMENT. IN OTHER WORDS, WE TEND TO ACCEPT ALL NEGATIVE CRITICISM AT FACE VALUE AND QUESTION THE GOOD FAITH OF THE GOVERNMENT AT EVERY JUNCTURE.

WE CAN MOVE A LONG WAY TOWARDS ACHIEVING OUR GOAL OF IMPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN CHILE WHILE INSURING THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ALLY IN MANY INTERNATIONAL FORA BY DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN A MATURE, CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER. MAKE KNOWN OUR DESIRE FOR IMPROVEMENT, BUT REWARD PROGRESS AND INCREASE HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES. KEY OPINION MAKERS/POLICY FORMULATORS SHOULD BE
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EXPOSED TO U.S. GOVERNMENT/MILITARY FIGURES, THEREBY OFFERING AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THE U.S. REALITY, IN SUCH POLICIES EXIST POSSIBILITIES FOR FRUITFUL DISCUSSION, ADVANCES IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES AND A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL IMPROVEMENT IN CHILEAN/U.S. RELATIONS. UNQUOTE.
BOYATT

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Sent Date: 01-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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